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ABSTRACT

Three methods of teaching--traditional lecture, Socratic, and radical humanist-- are examined as they are used at the college level of instruction. It is argued that these methods are based on teaching theories that differ from one another in terms of assumptions about the teacher-student relationship, the nature of knowledge and truth, the learning process, and the goals of higher education. The question is asked: Are these teaching theories differentially compatible with particular types of colleges and universities? On examination of institutions of higher learning based on parental income of students, evidence is produced that categories of schools, private colleges and universities, public colleges and universities, and two-year colleges, endorse different assumptions about teacher-student ties, knowledge and truth, learning processes, and educational goals. Some exceptions to this pattern are explored. (JD)

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PEDAGOGICAL THEORIES: PROBLEMS AND POSSIBILITIES

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Nearly every beginning teacher, of sociology or any other academic discipline, experiences confusion. Graduate training generally stresses knowledge of academic subject matter; teaching, the eventual life's work of most graduate students, is rarely mentioned. In the few departments that offer coursework or occasional training sessions on teaching, beginning teachers may still be bewildered. A glimpse at the literature on college teaching reveals a morass of conflicting assumptions about the learning process, the definition of knowledge, teacher-student relationships, and the goals of higher education.

A cursory examination, aimed at self-improvement, of the literature on college teaching, turned into a complex problem in the sociology of knowledge: Are there consistent theoretical approaches to the study of teaching? If so, at what types of colleges and universities have they been applied? What are their consequences when implemented at different types of institutions?

We have identified three distinct orienting strategies whose proponents seem to disagree sharply on several assumptions: 1) the nature of the learning process, 2) the definition of knowledge, 3) teacher-student relations, 4) the goals of higher education. In the first part of this paper we elaborate on the three strategies, referring to the four areas of difference.

There is ample evidence that colleges and universities draw student bodies from differing classes and income levels and lead students into occupations of differing income and status level. In the second section we explore the proposition that colleges and universities in each strata of higher education adopt differing pedagogical strategies.

Finally, we discuss the implications of adoption of the three pedagogical strategies. None of them seems sufficient to us in absolute terms. Moreover, the hierarchy that exists within American higher education means that pedagogical strategies will vary in effect from one type of institution to another.

IDENTIFYING AND CLARIFYING PEDAGOGICAL STRATEGIES

Implicit in all teaching strategies are assumptions about the ways that learning takes place, about the nature of knowledge, about the goals of education, and about internal power relationships in the classroom. These assumptions are rarely questioned, rarely even recognized, by most teachers, yet in David Bramhall's words, "the process by which education is carried out is at least as potent as the content" (1975, p. 56). We would go further and argue that, as many of the critics of our primary and secondary school systems recognize,[1] process is content.

There are at least three general orienting strategies for the classroom which are actively pursued in American colleges and universities: the lecture strategy, the Socratic method, and what we have chosen to call the radical humanist strategy.

The lecture strategy--teacher at the front of the room presenting appropriate selections from his or her store of accumulated wisdom and expertise to students--derives from the notion of authority. The term itself comes from the Latin legere, to read, and can be traced back to the presumptive Indo-European root log from which comes logos ("the Word" of John I.1). The relationship between the lecture method and revealed truth is less coincidental than it may first seem, for a lecturer was originally "one appointed to give a series of discourses," especially in a church (Onions, p. 521).

While few instructors would aver divine inspiration for their classroom performances, the nature of the lecture method asserts the speaker's possession of "Truth."

Lecturers, of course, point to the efficiency of their strategy. They do, they claim, have information students need, and lecturing is the simplest, fastest, and most direct way of bestowing it. For many students, listening is significantly less painful than reading. And given the paucity of books which say precisely what we might, at any one time, feel is necessary for students to learn, lecturing may be seen as a sensible alternative to wide, often largely irrelevant reading.

Moreover, lecturing is often circumstantially mandated by the nature of the institution. How else are classes of, say, five hundred to be taught? Economic conditions influence class size, and our teaching responds to the realities of the system in which it occurs. The question, however, is what is taught in those auditoriums; for lecturers do indeed teach more than their ostensible subject.

Primarily, we would argue, they teach that the goal of higher education is the accumulation of facts, of the data to which all that is to be imparted must be reduced, and that the facts offered by the lecturer are the only ones which are pertinent. The format discourages independent thought, discourages doubt, discourages disagreement by making these things awkward, difficult, inconvenient. Instead, it reinforces conventional patterns of belief--"If the professor said it, it must be true; he knows so much more than we do"--and power--it's always risky to disagree with your professor or to question his or her assumptions about the course material.

Students, whose job it is to absorb, to swallow up the received knowledge they are offered by the lecturer, are led to conclude that truth is

a unity, that for each question there is one and only one right answer and it is known by the speaker. They are drawn inexorably to our starting place, the relevatory role of the lecturer. To doubt is heresy. We no longer execute such heretics, but they can be failed. Should they not mend their ways, they can be excommunicated, expelled.

The lesson spills over beyond the lecture hall. Lecturing teaches order and control, sharp distinctions between haves and have-nots, humble submission and obeisance to authority. Of course, we are not suggesting that one class--or even a dozen--will fully mold such automatons. That, however, is the message conveyed by the classroom procedure, by the non-interaction of teachers and students in the lecture hall.

The lecture itself teaches considerably less. The evidence seems clear by now that learning is not passive but active, that the effective classroom is interactive, that education is a shared process at which student and teacher must work together.[2] Here the lecturers are on shaky educational ground; for the nature of their activity is to put the burden of learning on the students. The lecturer provides the material, but the students must, independently, do the work of learning and perhaps understanding it.

One response has been the Socratic method. Long acknowledged as a basic instructional mode in the law schools, this approach generally hides under the term "discussion" in other institutions.

In Plato's dialogues, Socrates acts as interlocutor. He begins with a set of either/or propositions, assumes the false one as a hypothesis, and traces its implications through a series of ever smaller dichotomies, each of which his students must declare to be either true or false. Each side

of each dichotomy must be tested for validity by this same technique. Eventually a choice will arrive to which both possible answers are patently false. This internal contradiction vitiates the original false proposition and allows the truth to appear. As Sherlock Holmes said, "When you have eliminated the impossible, whatever remains, however improbable, must be the truth."

In the classroom, the teacher plays Socrates, translating the course material into a series of either/or propositions. The students are then led, through logical analysis, to see why the false must be false and the true therefore true. Occasionally the teacher may provide a pertinent fact, though students ought to have obtained the necessary data from readings or accompanying lectures. Ideally even that won't be necessary, for since false hypotheses need to be tested by this same method, incorrect answers are no handicap and external evidence is useful only when students happen to stumble upon correct answers. Even then, rigorous logic ought to have shown that only one answer was possible. Presenting external evidence tends mainly to slow things down, for evidence which was not derived by logic from the opening hypothesis is an irrelevance.

We will not, here, discuss the practicability of this strategy. The difficulty of reducing all material into a collection of dichotomized propositions which provide sufficient data for evaluation purely by logical inference is manifest.

What is important about the Socratic method is that, even more forcefully than the lecture strategy, it teaches the singleness of truth. Since all propositions must be either true or false, and since all material must be transformed into propositions, there can be no margin for doubt, no

opportunity or incentive to question. Moreover, as the lecture strategy reduces education to the process of data collection while obviating analysis, so the Socratic method reduces education to the gathering of propositions and the study of logic. In context both are worthwhile. In vacuo each verges on the absurd.

But the Socratic method does more. Again, like lecturers, Socratic teachers separate themselves from their students. As proposition possessors and as interlocutors who ask but do not answer questions, they present themselves as agents of revealed truth. By their emphasis on logical pattern, they emphasize the importance of order--both logical and social. Finally, they do not join in that all important process of education. The onus of searching not for why one thing is true but for why its obverse is false rests firmly on the students who never discover or even look for direct ways of searching for truth and are never encouraged to search for meaning. Indeed, they are unlikely even to learn how to form testable propositions.

They do, however, discover patterns of procedure. The class becomes a game in which students analyze propositions divorced from any context. In response, a daring few may call for relevance.

Whey they do, the radical humanists appear.[3] Their approach is student-centered. Insofar as institutional constraints allow, they seek to dissolve barriers between students and teachers. In the most extreme forms, the teacher's role is abolished altogether, and he or she becomes a discussion leader, a moderator, and increasingly facilitator whose job is not to control what gets discussed or how it will be discussed but to assure everyone a chance to speak and to have his or her feelings and ideas reinforced.

Clearly this represents a movement away from visions of single truth. Rather, the radical humanists see truth as relativistic, subjective, a

process of internal referencing. As there are no right answers, so there are no wrong ones. "Is" gives way to "appears," knowing to believing, thinking to feeling. "This process, this movement from experiencing to conceptualization to integrating and experiencing" (McCarthy, 1975, pp. 49-50) takes the place of logical thought.

Muriel Spark's Miss Jean Brodie effectively describes the nature of this pedagogy which she contrasts with more traditional approaches:

> The word 'education' comes from the root e from ex, out, and duco, I lead. It means a leading out. To me education is a leading out of what is already in the pupil's soul. To [others] it is a putting in of something that is not there, and that is not what I call education, I call it intrusion, from the Latin root prefix in meaning in and the stem trudo, I thrust. [Their] method is to thrust a lot of information into the pupil's head; mine is leading out of knowledge, and that is true education as proved by the root meaning (1961, p. 198).

Despite Miss Brodie's analysis, there is no education in any traditional sense in this pedagogy. Instead, what we have is therapy. The material is the students' feelings and experiences. In principle this will create the motivation for more traditional learning at which time students will seek out new experiences and feelings.

The effort, ultimately, is to satisfy the needs of students rather than of faculty. It is based on the assumptions that students do not all learn in the same ways and neither want nor need to learn the same things. Therefore, an atmosphere must be created in which each student is free to make his own choices without either explicit or implicit penalty. Schools can then become what they should have been all along--places in which people meet to exchange thoughts, insights, experiences and feelings in an atmosphere of mutual respect and trust.

By rejecting authoritarian and manipulative modes of instruction, radical humanists encourage doubt, curiosity, and disagreement. They urge understanding of, rather than blind obedience to, societal regulations. In short, they abet the development of independent, creative thought.

All of this is healthy, but we fear it is also insufficient. It is, at best, a framework within which education can take place, rather than an educational strategy. We find it telling that virtually all those theorists who espouse these techniques speak in terms of atmosphere and motivation, that teachers who have tried them either introduce some more traditional elements to them or turn away from them altogether with the cry that they are wonderful ideas which simply don't work in the "real world" (see, for example, Union of Radical Political Economists, 1975). The exceptions are the extremists who argue, as Carl Rogers at times seems to, that there is no need to learn traditional subject matter, that the vital need is for "emotional learnings, for getting to know oneself better as a feeling person" (Evans, 1975, p. 42).

Thus far, we have been discussing the strategies as isolated educational methods, distinct from any institutional contexts. Of course, this is not how they occur. In the next section, we analyze some of the connections between particular teaching strategies and types of colleges and universities.

PEDAGOGICAL STRATEGIES AND THE HIERARCHY OF AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION

The sociology of knowledge is the study of a group's understanding of its culture.[4] This sub-discipline of sociology has been approached from varying sociological perspectives, and thus encompasses a variety of theories

and concepts. For us, a group's understanding of its culture is in large part conditioned by the conflictual relations that exist among social groups, deriving from relations of production. This Marxian foundation of the sociology of knowledge leads us to propose that social groups' cultures differ substantially within a single society. A group's understanding of culture will include, in a modern industrial society, both its academic knowledge and its methods of transferring that knowledge. In capitalist America, social classes have differed in their claim on and contribution to both academic knowledge and its principal means of transfer, higher education.

Many observers have argued that in America, college education was the province of the bourgeois family throughout the first half of this century.[5] Since World War II, we have witnessed the increased enrollment of high income, white-collar workers' children in colleges, and the concomitant development of state university systems. Rapid economic growth has created a demand among "middle-class" families for higher education; and it has generated a proportionate increase in white-collar positions in business and government as the proportion of blue-collar jobs decline. New jobs in the public and private sectors have required post-secondary training, although as several scholars have noted, the skills utilized in these jobs are not demonstrably more sophisticated than those of most blue-collar work.[6] In the 1960's and 1970's, junior colleges, community colleges and "post-secondary technical institutes" have expanded to prepare the children of low to moderate income, blue-collar families for entrance into lower echelon white-collar positions. Today, roughly half of all 18 - 21 year olds go on to post-secondary institutions (Bowles and Gintis, 1976, p. 201).

Table III reveals the relationship between family income and enrollment at particular types of colleges and universities. The American Council of Education wrote in 1971 that nearly 42 percent of students at private universities are of families with annual incomes over $20,000; most students at public colleges and universities represent families in the $8,000 to $20,000 annual income range; families with annual incomes of under $12,600 are disproportionately represented at public two-year and four-year colleges. Samuel Bowles (1972b) argues that:

> Higher education has developed a multitiered system dominated at the top by the ivy league institutions and the great state universities, followed by the state colleges, and ending up with the burgeoning junior colleges. This system reflects both the social class structure of the families of the students and the hierarchy of work relations into which each type of student will move after graduation (pp. 495-496).

The content of higher education in America has changed dramatically since its beginnings in the eighteenth century. At the turn of the twentieth century "[t]he horizons of academe expanded. Greek and Latin, classical education and philosophy -- they may have been fine or effete gentlemen . . . ." (Horowitz, 1972, p. 299). But the successful capitalists of the early 1900's, whose financial contributions built many American colleges and universities, favored education in more practical skills. Medicine, law, business and technical schools and institutes emerged, establishing the American equation of college with occupational training. The mission of university research reflected the same orientation: scholars should learn how to solve the problems of business and of society (Horowitz, 1972). The practical approach to learning has been dominant through the century, epitomized in the fragmentation of academic disciplines into innumerable

sub-categories with application to increasingly narrow definitions of occupations and research problems.

Broad trends in American higher education have taken different forms at the types of schools differentiated above. Large prestigious private and state universities have committed many of their resources to research of an abstract nature. At the same time, these institutions are involved in immense projects undertaken to solve problems both in the public and the private spheres. The large prestigious universities train most graduate students: "although there are over 2,000 colleges and universities in America, 75 percent of the Ph.D.'s are awarded in a mere 25 of them" (Horowitz, 1972, p. 305).

The considerable wealth of these universities, garnered through high tuition rates and foundation and government funding, has allowed a dual tradition to flourish. Harvard, Chicago, Stanford and others, were among the first universities to venture into practically oriented curricula and research programs, yet they are identified with the tradition of classical education now termed liberal arts. Graduates of these schools receive occupation training that delivers them into the highest paying jobs in our society (Jencks, 1972, p. 222); at the same time, they experience more significant learning than is achieved in most American schools.

The small liberal arts college has also fostered liberal education, in an intimate setting. However, these schools have very small research budgets and are supported mostly by student tuition. In recent years, they have tried to present a liberal arts curriculum in a form that is compatible with changing job requirements. Their clientele is the upper and upper-middle income family, which values the liberal education offered and notes

the occupational success of graduates. The recent decline in enrollments in liberal arts colleges has now stopped, suggesting a smaller but still sizeable constituency for this form of higher education (Magarrell, 1977b).

The state colleges and universities are less well endowed for research than are the prestigious private and state universities, and they lack the resources and commitment to liberal education shared by elite institutions (Bowles, Gintis, and Meyer, 1975, pp. 9-10). Education is geared towards occupations of moderate income. Courses on abstract or exotic subjects are ghettoized in the "residential" and "honors" colleges whose students are screened for admission and are channeled to graduate and professional education at elite universities.

Finally, the junior and community colleges have developed to meet the aspirations of the working poor and minorities to receive the training necessary for white collar occupations. Nationally, one-third of all students who enroll in institutions of higher education start in a community college (Karabel, 1972, pp. 521-2).[7] There is, of course, little research carried on at these schools; funds come from student tuition and public sources. Students seeking work after graduation from community and junior colleges find clerical, lower level technical and paraprofessional positions open to them. This betrayal of the promise of occupational success may (Trimberger, 1973) explain the high dropout rate of students at this type of school.[8]

The clear evidence of a hierarchy among institutions of higher education that is consistent with the socioeconomic background and occupational status of graduates has led to some analysis of how teaching differs among types of institutions of higher education. Binstock, as reported by Bowles, et al. (1975), found in the late 1960's differences in organization (class size, number of electives offered, specialized personnel available, teacher

free time), student motivation and student autonomy in large private and state universities, smaller state schools, and community and junior colleges. As might be expected, junior and community colleges, attended by lower income students, are characterized by rigid organization -- large classes, few specialized personnel, little teacher free time, few elective courses. In these schools, students are granted relatively little autonomy and tend to be motivated by external stimulation rather than by internalized goals.

> The lack of financial support all but requires that students be treated as raw materials on a production line; it places a high premium on obedience and punctuality; there are few opportunities for independence, creative work or individualized attention by the teacher (Bowles, Gintis and Meyer, 1975, p. 10).

Observation of colleges and universities serving constituencies of higher socioeconomic status reveals more student autonomy and internalized motivation, and "flexible" organization. There is some evidence to indicate that parents prefer the type of teaching offered in the types of schools in which their children enroll (Bowles, Gintis and Meyer, 1975, p. 10).

Beyond these general patterns in teaching in various types of colleges and universities, we know little about how pedagogy is related to the hierarchy that seems to exist within higher education. Are there differences in what the teacher considers his/her role in each type of institution of higher education? Is knowledge conceptualized in different ways in each of these settings? Do teachers recognize the class backgrounds of students, and their likely occupational boundaries? If so, how does this recognition influence their concept of the learning process?

Formal study of these questions may be lacking, but there is much indirect information that is revealing. Varying institutions have conditions that necessitate or preclude particular educational strategies. Our

description of the large prestigious state or private university suggests a fertile setting for radical humanist pedagogy. Indeed, much of the experimentation in and commentary on radical humanist pedagogy has originated in these schools (Fashing and Deutsch, 1971; Jencks and Reisman, 1968). The liberal arts tradition is encouraged at these institutions, and it is in abstract areas of knowledge that diversity in definition of truth is most readily fostered. Small class size certainly enhances the expression of the individualized learning that is prescribed by radical humanists. Finally, the interactive learning process is possible in small classes and in education with individualized goals and definitions of knowledge. The availability of funds also allows students involvement and individuality in learning. The example of Lawrence Wylie, the Harvard professor of sociology who worked with 100 students over 8 years in writing a book on a village in France is instructive. His students traveled to the research site and pursued other expensive activities in completing the project, an option not available to low-income students in universities and colleges with little research money (Driver, 1972).

There is another side to the elite school, however, which is incompatible with radical humanist pedagogy, even when experiments are undertaken. This is expressed most prominently in relationships between students and faculty members, but also in the feasibility of student defined knowledge and goals, and in active student learning. Faculty members are likely to have attended graduate school at elite institutions and "mostly have quite similar ideas about what their discipline covers, how it should be taught, and how its frontiers should be advanced" (Jencks and Reisman, 1968, p. 14). Their training as researchers is more extensive than as teachers. Research has probably involved problem solving, and a practical orientation

inconsistent with individual definitions of knowledge or educational goals (see, for example, American Sociological Association. 1978). This faculty background carries over to the occupationally-directed areas of elite curriculum; it is also likely to influence radical experimentation.[9]

The occupational goals of most students at elite institutions are satisfied with a practical curriculum that is consistent with more traditional pedagogical strategies. Educational goals and definitions of knowledge are set by the demands of high-income occupations and a faculty and administration inured in a problem-solving research tradition. The extent of student participation in learning is limited by these factors and cannot proceed beyond Socratic dialogue. The faculty has significant power by virtue of its role in defining the goals and province of education.

Liberal arts colleges have been the home of considerable experimentation, much of it in the direction of radical humanist pedagogical ideas. Sarah Lawrence, Bennington, Bard, Antioch et al., were founded on humanist principles. Their originators generally endorsed student involvement in learning, and student initiative in defining their own needs and goals. Classroom learning is generally achieved through discussion, in which teachers are to "facilitate" student awareness of their own needs and educational goals; the power of teachers over students is lessened in this relationship. Yet, Jencks and Reisman (1968) argue that the experimental colleges face a "staffing problem" shared by elite institutions. Those faculty members considered exemplary in their fields are judged by criteria unacceptable to the radical humanist attempting to implement his or her ideas in a liberal arts college. They are hired, nonetheless, because there are few Ph.D.'s with alternative academic credentials; these schools, generally with high income

student bodies, seek staff of high quality by existing standards; and even the graduate student with an alternative vision is better trained in the problem-solving curriculum than ever before as the academic job market worsens.

Most liberal arts colleges are not bent on radical experimentation. Many are run by churches. Since 1950, private institutions generally have suffered from declining enrollments relative to public institutions of higher education (Magarrell, 1977a). Liberal arts colleges have suffered financial strains, and many have closed. In a recent study of 100 private colleges and universities, researchers found that during the last ten years the number and quality of students has held steady, that there has been "no evidence of curricular retrenchment," but that a "'day of reckoning' will come when capital expenditures must increase to meet a growing accumulation of unmet needs" (Magarrell, 1977a). A discussion of pedagogical strategies adopted at most liberal arts colleges must be conducted in terms of their long-term decline.

The small class size, low student-teacher ratio, and integration of education and campus life at nearly all liberal arts colleges is conducive to some aspects of radical humanist strategy (Romey, 1977). But, as the liberal arts college has fought to survive, it has made concessions to the demands of occupations its students will seek. Liberal arts college catalogues resemble more and more those of state schools where the emphasis is on career training. Moreover, to match the tuition rates (lower by half) of public schools, private colleges and universities have offered scholarships that cover nearly half of most students' tuition (Magarrell, 1977a); even when coupled with grants from government, this aid cuts down on the funds available for students to pursue individual needs and goals.

Another mitigating force in innovation in liberal arts colleges is the teaching load of three to five course preparations per term. This problem is accentuated in the growing number of liberal arts colleges demanding research and publishing on the part of the faculty (Bess, 1977). Professors may, therefore, be reluctant to commit the great time to students that is required by radical humanist pedagogy.

State colleges and universities are the settings most compatible with the lecture strategy. Classes are routinely large, often over 500 students. There is little choice for the teacher but to lecture; faculty peer pressure to so define knowledge and educational goals only reinforces the necessity of making decisions for an unmanageable number of students. Evaluation of students becomes a preoccupation of faculty in these schools, reflecting in part the anonymity of students, while increasing their hostility to what they rightly observe as teachers' exercise of power. Efforts by faculty members to increase student self-determination are often misinterpreted as abdication of faculty responsibility (Bridges and Hartman, 1975). Having both taught in two large, state universities, we have found some faculty receptive to radical humanist pedagogy. But in practice, class size often precludes the exercise of student rights, definitions of knowledge and goals, and engagement with materials. The most teachers can generally do is to offer several methods of evaluation for students to choose among. As state schools decline in size, prestige and resources, even this innovation is impossible. Where there are few teaching assistants, a variety of grading options may be difficult for the teacher of 200 to organize.

The distrust of students for innovation is a distressing reminder that students probably want the pedagogical strategy employed at the school they

attend. To establish content or teaching approaches at odds with the occupational focus of the institution is to deprive students of what they think they need to get a job. Students may discover that freedom to explore their own educational needs has unanticipated benefits; we have all encountered the student who finds a joy in learning which shapes other educational and occupational choices. But we underestimate our students in not admitting their active endorsement of our curricula at state schools, prompted by an understanding that employers want occupationally trained students.

The main exceptions to the pedagogical orientation of state schools are the honors and residential colleges. These units are often self-contained, offering separate dorms, libraries, and extra-curricular activities. They recruit the most accomplished high school students, who might otherwise attend liberal arts colleges. In this sense, they have defeated their purpose -- offering an occupational mobility track to high achieving state university clientele. Therefore, they have often met with opposition from state legislatures (Jencks and Reisman, 1968).

Although the two-year college presents a setting which appears to be ideally suited for the lecture strategy for teaching, it nevertheless offers curious exceptions and analytical problems. There are many large classes in junior and community colleges; resources for the purchase of technology to aid teachers are scarce. Teachers prepare many classes every term; they have little time to interact with students outside of class. Students often work part or full-time and have few opportunities for involvement with teachers and fellow students or for attendance of college sponsored events. Binstock (cited in Bowles, Gintis and Meyer, 1975, p. 11) found junior colleges to have more concrete academic goals than did other types of colleges and universities, and, with "teachers colleges," to stress the social goal

of following (as opposed to leading). While categorized as carriers of broad ideologies and motivational (as opposed to "behavioral" controls), junior colleges are lower on these continua than are "private secular colleges and state universities."

Jencks and Reisman (1968, p. 484) add to the picture of the two-year college as a bastion of traditional pedagogical strategies, commenting first on the tendency of these schools to hire academics, who share graduate schools' educational goals and definitions of knowledge.

> [W]hile the community colleges have not been tied to traditional academic definitions of appropriate qualifications for teaching, neither have they been especially imaginative in utilizing new kinds of instructors. They may not have been obsessed with the Ph.D., but like their public school cousins they have often insisted on just enough academic certification to bar the employment of gifted amateurs from other occupations.
>
> [W]hatever the faculty the community colleges hired have generally been confronted with a quite rigid pattern of instruction. Just as in the public schools, this system has often precluded the development of new learning styles, has limited the kinds of skills that could be cultivated and rewarded, and has encouraged a quite conventional academic vision of what knowledge is and how it is acquired.

There are exceptions to this pattern, however, which are of interest. First, many of the implementations of radical humanist pedagogy are suggested for two-year college students (see, for example, Smith and Haverkamp, 1977). Our admittedly limited and selected exposure to students and teachers who have left two-year colleges for large state universities has suggested that community and junior colleges may, in fact, allow for more application of radical humanist strategies than is commonly thought. We have heard teachers and students speak of the curiosity and personal commitment to

learning of students in two-year colleges. This is often despite contending commitments to jobs and families. We suggest two possible explanations for these phenomena, both of which have important implications for pedagogy and the class basis of American higher education. First, the "cooling out" of occupationally ambitious, low income students in two-year colleges, assumed in much of the literature on the class basis of higher ecucation may not occur (see, for example, Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Jencks and Reisman, 1968; Trimberger, 1973). Students may be aware of the occupational limitations faced by the graduate of the two-year college but find education rewarding and therefore be willing to challenge traditional pedagogical strategies. This may be true, in particular, for the first generation college student.

Second, there is a sub-group of students at the two-year college which may influence the experiences of teachers and other students: women returning to school after several years of homemaking. Women now outnumber men in colleges and universities, but only when all age groups are included. Our experiences teaching adult women at state universities leads us to suggest that these students have vague occupational goals, and often view higher education itself and/or self-improvement as their reason for being in college. Adult women are disproportionately found in two-year colleges and the "evening" and "general studies" divisions of other colleges and universities.[10]

The enrollment of students eager to learn does not mitigate any of the financial and administrative blocks to radical innovation or experimentation in two-year colleges. In fact, these conditions probably frustrate the creative, independent student. We suggest, however, that our poorest strata

of college students are a group more varied in intention than students of higher education have generally proposed.

IMPLICATIONS OF ADOPTING PEDAGOGICAL ORIENTING STRATEGIES

Our epistemology as teachers is based on the contentions that there are objective truths students should understand and that there are socially determined truths which students should both understand and challenge. We like the radical humanists' respect for individuals and concern with demystifying the learning process. But we also like the Socratics' respect for careful and valid methods of argumentation and the lecturers' belief in the value of knowledge.

We find that most teachers who are concerned with teaching, who believe it important and consider it seriously, develop methodologies which combine all of these strategies and their derivatives (e.g., the discussion method in which the instructor asks leading questions designed to have the students perform his or her lecture; the preliminary to the Socratic method in which the students provide propositions and discuss means of verifying them; the response inducing questions which are followed up with analyses of why those particular responses are pertinent).

There are two reasons teachers synthesize strategies. First, none is, in the abstract, sufficient. Second, the institutions in which we teach offer encouragement for or constraints upon the adoption of each pedagogical strategy. The university teacher may read the plethora of paperbacks on education available at the suburban bookstore. But none will tell how to be a better teacher at his or her type of institution of higher education. Indeed, none will even describe what good teaching is.

Radical humanist pedagogy, which is closest to our ideal pedagogical theory, has produced the greatest number of proselytizers in recent years, and therefore, may be most guilty of deceiving the caring teacher seeking direction. Generally lacking any political-economic analysis, radical humanists seem to suggest that American educators once made an arbitrary decision to teach in "traditional" ways, and that we, as more enlightened educators, can reverse this decision.[11] And they offer us evidence of cooperative teacher-student relations, student initiative in learning, in setting goals, in defining knowledge (Gordon, 1977; Romey, 1977). The institutional settings in which innovation occurs are often vaguely described; more importantly, experiments seldom allow the student the autonomy recommended by the radical humanist theorist (Bowles and Gintis, 1976).

Readers of these works quickly discover boundaries in their own colleges and universities and try limited experiments -- often with satisfying results. But such teacher satisfaction, we reluctantly contend, is often merely a contrast to the disappointing results of other pedagogical strategies. Bess (1977) points out that college teachers are ambivalent about teaching. Along with their institutions' administrators, they deny the legitimacy of their needs to educate. But recognition of these needs does not imply their satisfaction, particularly at those schools which draw their students from low income families.

In failing to come to terms with the class basis of higher education, writers about pedagogy ignore an integral part of education: being honest with students about their occupational potential. We should make clear to our students that graduates of prestigious private and state universities have advantages in job-seeking over graduates of other schools. It is

especially helpful to younger students to discuss the class basis of higher education. This not only builds "critical consciousness" (Freire, 1970), but also helps students in making decisions which will affect their futures.

But our criticisms of pedagogical orienting strategies don't lead directly to a theoretically adequate pedagogy for higher education. This needed effort will almost certainly appear in numerous and complex forms. It will be influenced by factors not discussed here: faculty unionization, community pressures to return to "basics," growing unemployment, the expansion of higher education in the South and Southwest as population and industry move to this part of the country. We do claim that the study of pedagogy is far from complete, and requires further theoretical development and a full integration of information on the class basis of American higher education.

Table I

Percentage of U. S. Younger Employed Males in Professional and Managerial Occupations, by Level of Educational Attainment, Latter 1960's

Level of Educational Attainment	Percentage, Professional and Managerial
High school graduation only	7
One or two terms of college	13
Three of four terms of college	28
Five to seven terms of college	32
Eight or more terms of college	82

Source: Karabel, 1972, p. 523

Table II

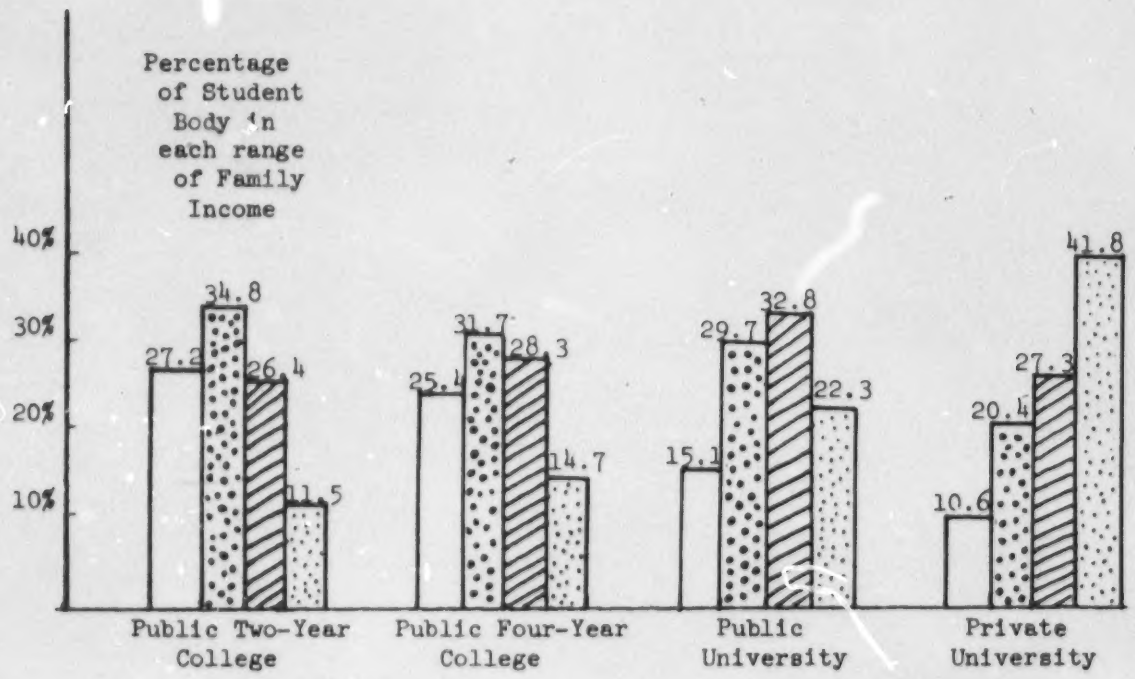
Incomes of Full-Time, Year-Round Workers over 25 With Different Amounts of Schooling, as a Percentage of the 1968 Average

Amount of Schooling	Males	Females	Total
Didn't finish elementary school	70%	40%	64%
Finished elementary school, no high school	85%	47%	76%
Entered high school, didn't finish	96%	51%	84%
Finished high school, no college	111%	61%	95%
Entered college, didn't finish	129%	71%	115%
Finished college, no graduate school	170%	84%	150%
At least 1 year of graduate work	188%	106%	171%
All individuals	114%	62%	100%
Grand mean			$7,995
Number of individuals in 1,000s	34,432	12,575	47,008

Source: Jencks, 1972, p. 222. "Income in 1968." "Elementary School" includes the first 8 years of schooling. "High School" includes grades 9-12. "Finished College" means a 4-year college. "No High School," "No College," and "No Graduate School" includes individuals who entered these institutions but did not complete the first year.

Table III

Stratification of Higher Education by Family Income in 1971



= Family Income Under $8,000.

= Family Income $8,000-$12,499.

= Family Income $12,500-$20,000

= Family Income Over $20,000

Source: Bowles and Gintis, 1976, p. 210.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Illich, 1971; Postman and Weingartner, 1969; Holt, 1964; et al.

[2]The conclusions in Smith, 1975, are especially informative.

[3]In one form or another, these include most of the "new wave" critics: Holt, 1964; Postman and Weingartner, 1969; McCarthy, 1975; Kozol, 1967; Gordon, 1974.

[4]Berger and Luckman, 1967, p. 3.

[5]"As late as 1870, only 1.7% of eighteen to twenty-one year olds were enrolled in higher education" (Bowles and Gintis, 1976, p. 201).

[6]Squires (1977) points out that the training colleges and universities provide may be non-cognitive. "Better educated workers, particularly college graduates, are valued for the non-cognitive attributes imparted by the schooling process because such workers provide employers with a more stable work force" (p. 446). See, also, Berg (1969) and Braverman (1974). Whether cognitive or non-cognitive skills are learned, a college education does seem to make a difference in the eventual attainment of high status and high income occupations. As Table I indicates, in the latter 1960's, younger American males holding managerial and professional positions generally attended college for 8 or more terms. Jencks (1972) demonstrates in Table II that in 1968, full-time, year-round workers over 25 had progressively higher incomes as they completed more years of schooling; male and female full-time, year-round workers who did not finish elementary school had incomes only 64% of the 1968 average, in contrast with male and female college graduates who worked full-time year-round and had incomes 150% of the average.

[7]About 70% of the students entering community colleges aspire to a bachelor's degree. Karabel (1972) suggests that no more than half of these students actually transfer to a four-year college and fewer actually receive the B.A.

[8]Students at junior and community colleges are more likely to drop out than are students at other types of colleges and universities (Trimberger, 1973; Karabel, 1972). In California, with one of the most extensive two-year college systems in the country, the dropout rate among junior college students is 70%.

[9]Romey (1977) discusses the problems faculty members encountered in the Department of Geology and Geography at St. Lawrence University, when a

"student-centered, problem focused" curriculum was adopted. Many faculty members could not tolerate lack of "established and scheduled relationships." As a result, a "traditional" curriculum was reintroduced alongside the experimental one. Similar problems arose at the University of Chicago, Harvard, and Columbia when general education programs were staffed by university faculty (Jencks and Reisman, 1968, pp. 492-501).

[10]Jacobson (1977) reports that the American Association of Junior and Community Colleges anticipates a decline in enrollments as "traditional college-age population" declines. Women and older citizens are among the groups the association hopes to recruit. Some observers predict that non-credit students will eventually predominate in two-year colleges; part-time students taking courses for credit at two-year colleges now outnumber full-time students, reflecting, in part, the fact that two-year colleges are older than their counterparts in four-year institutions.

[11]This is true only of the radical humanists as theorists. As critics of American education, they do recognize the nature of the institution as the chief obstacle which must be overcome (Kozol, 1967; Holt, 1964). We wonder how much this awareness is the result of cogent analysis as opposed to intuitive understanding. As a friend recently pointed out, Kozol, Holt, and others have been fired from schools in which they attempted change.

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